1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

Havik subdivisions. Similarly, Poleya is a blanket term for anyone of the following Untouchable sub-castes, Kembaṭṭi, Aḍiyas, Pāleya, Poleya, Kukka Poleya, Baḍaga Poleya, and Mādiga. Pāleyas are split into further subdivisions.

The Brahmins, Kaṇiyas, and Baṇṇas (or Paṇikas) are the three castes with whom Coorgs come into contact mostly in ritual contexts. The Brahmins are priests not only in the great shrines at Tala Kāvēri, Bhāgamanḍla, and Irpu, but also in numerous small temples scattered all over Coorg. Coorgs from every part of Coorg go on pilgrimage to the great shrines, and at Bhāgamanḍla, where the Kāvēri and Kanaké meet, it is customary for them to offer balls of rice to their ancestors under the guidance of a Brahmin priest.

In those villages where a Brahmin is functioning as priest he is paid annually, at harvest time, a certain quantity of paddy by every house in the village. In this respect he is treated like the barber, washerman, smith, and others. The priest is an essential member of the village organization.

In addition to being priest of the village temple, the Brahmin performs certain ritual services for Coorgs. These services vary from one part of Coorg to another, and not infrequently from one joint family to another: Coorgs in Kiggaṭnāḍ, for instance, are more Sanskritized in their ways than Coorgs elsewhere, and again some Coorg families are more Sanskritized than their neighbours. But everywhere the Brahmin priests perform certain minimum duties: at *puṭri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs, he comes with consecrated water which he gives the members to drink, and also sprinkles a little of it on certain parts of the house. When a wedding takes place in a Coorg house, he comes to bless the bridal pair and give them consecrated water.

The formation and crystallization of the division of Amma Coorgs is itself an acknowledgement of the strength of the influence of the Brahmins on Coorgs. But the Brahmins do not always operate at the Sanskritic level. Nearly a hundred years ago Dr. Moegling wrote that Coorgs were greatly afraid of the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara.

> The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say that if one of the Tantri Brahmins be offended and curse a man he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of the masters of the black art to say to a man, 'do you

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

not see?' or 'do you not hear?' and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or even death.[1]

Occasionally temples dedicated to Bhagavati or Bhadrakāli were under the control of Tantri Brahmins in South Canara. The latter had the right to appoint the priest and oracle to each of these temples: the priest was a Brahmin while the oracle belonged to any high caste like Coorgs.

The Tantri Brahmins knew the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple and consecration of images. They visited the temples under their management once every few years when their Coorg followers made money-offerings to them. Moegling tells us that a single such visit would yield the priests between Rs 200 and Rs 300, a substantial sum in those days, and which testifies to the hold exercised by the Tantri Brahmins over Coorgs.[2]

The fact that the Tantris sanctioned the institution of oracles at their temples shows the extent to which they had compromised with non-Sanskritic modes of propitiation:

> Some Coorg is also chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a large number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some *mantra* and puts some holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.[3]

The Kaṇiyas are another caste with whom Coorgs come into intimate contact in ritual contexts. They are astrologers and magicians from Malabar who have settled in Coorg for a long time, and their hold on Coorgs was very much greater in the past than it is today.

Every important task must be begun in an auspicious moment, or it will fail. Only the Kaṇiya knows the auspicious and inauspicious moments, and this is revealed to him by his knowledge of astrology. The first ploughing of the rice-fields, the first sowing, and the cutting of the sheaves have all to be performed during auspicious periods. A wedding has to be performed on an auspicious day and at an auspicious hour, and if there are horoscopes for the boy and girl, they are examined to find out if they are mutually

[1] *Coorg Memoirs*, pp. 56–57.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 56–57.
[3] Moegling, op. cit., pp. 56–57.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

ing him, said '*bā kunyi*' (come, child). My informant, incensed at being called a 'child' by a low-caste Baṇṇa promptly slapped him. The term 'child' is normally used by an elder towards a youth, but only an elder of the same or equivalent or superior caste is entitled to this privilege, and not an elder of a low caste. My informant regarded the oracle as a Baṇṇa, and not as the ancestor of a friend: he had projected the normal structure into the ritual context. Needless to say he did not believe that a Coorg ancestor possessed a Baṇṇa oracle at an ancestor-propitiation.

The Baṇṇa normally occupies a low position in the hierarchy, but the fact that he is the master of the complicated technique of ancestor-propitiation, and that he is possessed by these spirits during the propitiation, temporarily put him in a high position. The contemporary decline of belief in ancestor-spirits, as well as the increasing lack of appeal of the mode of propitiation adopted by the Baṇṇa, have tended to confine him to the position normally occupied by him in the caste structure.

The Brahmin occupies the highest position in the hierarchy and is also the master of a highly complicated ritual technique. But in spite of this there is frequently a certain inconsistency between the positions occupied by him in ritual and secular contexts respectively. In secular affairs power is actually possessed by the man who has wealth and a large following, whatever his caste might be. But even he has to accord the Brahmin the highest place in ritual contexts. The complex relation prevailing between a wealthy and powerful Shūdra Hindu and his poor Brahmin priest comes to mind: the Brahmin is in the Shūdra's pay and protection, but still he has to be respected as a Brahmin and especially in ritual contexts. Where the Brahmin priest is also a scholar or holy man there does not seem to be any inconsistency between his ritual and secular roles.

V

Caste has a tendency to stress horizontal ties. It unites members of the same caste living in different villages and distinguishes them from other castes in the same village. It is extremely unlike the village community in which members of different castes are united by certain common values and are marked off from other villages. The existence of feuds between villages in the past

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

emphasized the solidarity of the village and offset the separating influence of caste.

The solidarity prevalent between the various castes in a village (or *nāḍ*) finds ritual expression during *putri*, the harvest festival of Coorgs. On this occasion, the representatives of the priestly, artisan, and servant castes living in the village (or *nāḍ*) visit the house of every Coorg in their area, and either give a gift or perform a service characteristic of their caste. They are given in return gifts of provisions like rice, rice-flour, pepper, salt, jaggery, coconut oil, coconuts, and a giant yam (*putri geṇasu*) which is harvested during *putri*.

The local Brahmin priest visits, in turn, each Coorg house in his village (or *nāḍ*). He purifies the house by sprinkling it with a little consecrated water which he carries in a ritually pure vessel. He also gives each member of the house a tiny spoonful of consecrated water to drink. The priest is sent away with a gift of provisions.

Like the priest, the Kaṇiya astrologer visits the various Coorg houses in his village (or *nāḍ*). He informs the head of each house when the rites of *néré kaṭṭuvudu* (see pp. 230–1) and cutting the paddy sheaves should be performed. These rites are performed only during auspicious periods.

The members of the artisan castes follow the Kaṇiya. The Tachchāyiri or carpenter brings with him a gift of a new wooden ladle with which to stir the festival curry made with all the vegetables grown at this time of the year. He also brings a bamboo receptacle (*kutti*) in which the severed paddy sheaves are brought home. The Kolla or blacksmith brings a new sickle with which the sheaves are cut. The Mēda brings a new harvest basket (*putri pachchiya*) which is used in the festival. The Kumbāra or potter brings a new pot in which the harvest curry is cooked. Finally, the Poleya brings a new mat which is used in the festival.

The harvest festival is the biggest of the various calendar festivals of Coorgs, and on this occasion each of the several castes with whom Coorgs live in close and intimate contact does some service, or brings some gift, characteristic of it. Gifts are given in return to each of them. The exchange of gifts strengthens the bonds prevalent between Coorgs and other castes.

At the harvest festival each of several interdependent castes living in a village performs some essential service which cannot be performed by another, and this fact is brought home to the

k Srinivas E-5 (1940-42) 1952 AWS Coorg AWS

on the eighteenth day, in the evening, after the shot has been fired freeing the village from the restrictions in force during the festival. Similarly, no Poleya may leave his hut and show himself to a member of a high caste during the first eighteen days of the festival. They are specially forbidden to show themselves to the festival-priests (*kāvukāras*). The Poleyas are very greatly afraid of Kētrappa, whom they call 'big god' (*doḍḍa dēvaru*), and it is believed that Kētrappa will punish them if they show themselves to the villagers during the festival.

The festival of the village-deity usually includes a ceremony called *tappaḍaka* (enumeration of restrictions), in which all the adult villagers assemble together at the temple and take a vow to the effect that they will observe certain restrictions for the duration of the festival.

No villager may fire his gun during the festival, nor may he kill an animal for his food. He is not permitted to break an egg or coconut, or prepare liquor or season his curries. He may not spread a mat or carpet on the benches in the veranda or hall.

Sometimes the villagers are permitted to import meat from another village, the prohibition being only on the animal being killed within the village. Even where such concessions are made to the ordinary villagers, the festival-priests are strictly enjoined to keep off even imported meat.

The festival-priests have to refrain from sexual intercourse during the festival. They are also enjoined not to touch the ordinary high-caste villager who, it must be remembered, is himself in a condition of ritual purity. Such contact defiles them for the rest of the day, and only a bath in cold water early next morning restores them to their condition of great ritual purity. There are different levels of ritual purity, and each level is impurity with reference to a higher level.

The festival-priests are much more important for the festival than ordinary villagers. They dress and worship the idol. Usually one or more of them are oracles of one or other of the deities in the village temple. Their duties require their being frequently very near the idols and other representations of the deities they worship. Consequently, they have to be in a condition of great ritual purity. They have to observe more restrictions regarding food and other matters than ordinary villagers. The degree of

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952, AW5 Coorg AW5

ritual purity becomes, in this case, an index of the degree of concern in the festival. What is interesting to note is the widespread systematization of 'concern' in Coorg culture. The mother of the newly born infant has to observe pollution for a longer period than other relatives; and first-grade mourners have to observe mourning for a longer period than others. Not only the length of the period but also the number and character of the restrictions observed are used to mark off those with greater 'concern' in the event from those with less 'concern'. The greater the 'concern' the greater the bond.

The festival of a village-deity usually includes a ritual fast or *paṭṇi*: a day towards the end of the festival is called '*paṭṇi* day' and the villagers observe a ritual fast on this day. The fast day usually occurs before the festival (*nammé*) day. The festival day is regarded as the most important day of the festival, elaborate ritual being performed on this day, at the end of which animals are sacrificed. The various restrictions observed during the festival are broken on the festival day, usually towards evening. A big feast follows, which includes meat dishes and liquor, prohibited until now.

A ritual fast does not necessarily mean actual abstention from food. Frequently a ritual fast means only abstention from everyday food, and that too interpreted very narrowly. For instance, cooked rice grains and vegetable curry are the normal food among Coorgs, and this is prohibited at a ritual fast. But while cooked rice grains are prohibited, dishes made with rice-flour are not.

On the fast day Coorgs miss a meal, instead of which they consume pancakes made of rice-flour, and *pāyasa*, a sweet liquid dish made with split green gram. Pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* are very commonly eaten during ritual fasts in the Tamil country.

Coorgs are forbidden to eat pancakes and green gram *pāyasa* during weddings and while birth- and death-pollution last. As far as they are concerned this diet seems to be confined to the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. It is difficult to see the purpose of the fast day during the festival of a village-deity. While the observance of a ritual fast on the festival day till the rites are completed is understandable, a ritual fast on the day before the festival day is not easy to understand, especially if the villagers are permitted to eat the normal festival diet on the morning of the festival day. The fast day seems to exist quite

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

171 offered every day, in others once a week, while still others come to
778 life only annually or once every few years, when the festival of the
782 deity is being celebrated. Such a festival usually lasts several days
[785] and culminates in the sacrifice of fowl, sheep, goats, and buffaloes.
[789] Devotees walk barefoot across fire, gash themselves with swords, and so on, on the last day of the festival.

171 While the priests at the Sanskritic temples are usually[1] Brahmins,
793 men belonging to one of the non-Brahmin castes are frequently priests at the temples dedicated to village-deities. Here again practice varies from region to region, village to village, and temple to temple. For instance, in Coorg, Brahmins from South Canara are commonly priests at temples dedicated to village-deities. In Mysore and the Tamil country, on the other hand, a member of a non-Brahmin caste is normally priest at the temple of a village-deity.

171 Throughout peninsular India, excluding Kēraḷa, Māri is a
776 common village-deity. She presides over epidemic diseases such as
[164] plague, smallpox, and cholera, which usually occur in summer. The propitiation of Māri with offerings and festival takes place in summer, and also whenever plague or cholera or smallpox breaks out.

Village-deities in peninsular India are frequently females. This is specially true of the area east of the Western Ghats. Ellamma (literally 'boundary-mother') is a familiar deity in Telugu and Tamil villages. Kāḷi is another familiar goddess.

All village-deities are not, however, goddesses: there are also gods. Ayyanār, for instance, is a very popular god in Tamil villages and he keeps watch on the village when the villagers are asleep. Bīrēdēvaru is a popular god in Kannaḍa villages.

171 All over peninsular India, with the exception of the Malayāḷam-
782 speaking areas, bull buffaloes are favourite animals for sacrifice to village-deities. In the Malayāḷam-speaking areas, however, the favourite animals for sacrifice are the pig, goat, sheep, and fowl. The south-western part of Coorg shares numerous cultural forms with Malabar, and there the bull buffalo is not sacrificed to village-deities. In the eastern and northern parts, however, buffaloes are sacrificed to village-deities, especially Māri. But

[1] I say 'usually' and not 'invariably' because sometimes there are non-Brahmin priests at the shrines of Sanskritic deities. For instance, in many temples dedicated to Shiva in one or other of his numerous forms there are Lingāyaṭ priests.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

346 Lucky indeed were the deities who could count the Rājas of Coorg as their devotees. The Bhaganḍēshwara temple in Bhāgamanḍla, Omkārēshwara temple in Mercara, the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi temple in Kuklūr, and many others have benefited from the munificence of the Rājas.

346 793 The construction of a temple is accompanied by elaborate ritual, and the Tantri Brahmins of South Canara are masters of this ritual. The folksongs frequently refer to a Tantri Brahmin being sent for to supervise the performance of the ritual surrounding the construction of a temple. The Tantri himself knows how to set images more firmly in their bases, revivify deities who have lost power, and so on.

793 796 It is usually a Brahmin from either South Canara or Malabar who is priest at temples dedicated to Bhagavati (Povvedi). Worship is offered to the deity at least once every day in temples where Brahmins are priests. There are, however, temples in which a member of one of the non-Brahmin castes is priest. For instance, a Kannaḍa-speaking Okkaliga is priest at the temple of Kuṭṭatammé in Kuṭṭa; and similarly, the deity Kētrappa has a Coorg priest. [776] Quite apart from this, in almost every village the very low castes (Mēda and Poleya) have their own deities who are not usually worshipped by the higher castes. The latter refer to such a deity as, for instance, 'Mēdara Ayyappa' (Mēdas' Ayyappa), 'Poleyara dēvaru' (Poleyas' deities), and so on.

The position may be summed up thus: (1) there are first of all temples dedicated to Sanskritic deities, with Brahmin priests, at which only vegetarian offerings are made, and these deities are worshipped by all the high castes.[1] Until recently, Untouchables were not being admitted to such temples. Now, legally, they are entitled to enter them. (2) There are temples where Brahmins are normally priests, the offerings normally vegetarian, and the mode of worship Sanskritic, but on certain occasions such as the festival of the deity the Brahmin withdraws and animals are decapitated before the deity by a non-Brahmin. The Brahmin priest re-enters the temple only after purifying it. (3) Temples where non-Brahmins are priests. Brahmins usually do not have anything to do in such a temple, but lay Brahmins may propitiate such a deity during an

[1] This ignores, however, the distinction into Shaivism and Vaishṇavism, and the fact that the orthodox followers of the one do not generally go to the temples of the other.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

epidemic or other disaster. Brahmins make only offerings of fruits and flowers even when propitiating such a deity.[1] (4) Deities propitiated by one or other of the lowest castes who are rarely propitiated by the upper castes. Such a deity is identified with the caste habitually propitiating him (or her).

Every temple has a headman called *dēva takka*, belonging to one of the high castes, who generally looks after the temple and its property. The *okkas* belonging to the high castes annually pay him a contribution in paddy and cash towards the maintenance of the temple. He, together with the village headman, organizes the elaborate festival of the deity. He has also certain ritual duties at the festival, which vary from village to village. His relation with the village headman too varies from village to village.

Formerly every important temple in a village seems to have had three permanent officials, Mukkāṭi, Neravanḍa, and Chengōla. Of these three the last two are defunct today, and only the first-mentioned Mukkāṭi still continues to exist. These offices were hereditary in certain *okkas* and these *okkas* generally belonged to a high caste like Coorg, Gauḍa, smith, and cowherd. The Chengōla looked after the accounts, and the Mukkāṭi swept the temple and lit the lamps, but we do not know what the duties of the Neravanḍa were. Mukkāṭi and Neravanḍa occur occasionally as surnames of certain Coorg *okkas*.

Every temple has pipers and drummers. These may belong to a high caste like Mārāyas, or a low caste like Mēdas or Poleyas.

In addition to the above, every temple of a village-deity has a number of *ṭāvukāras* or festival-priests who are active only during the periodical festival. All the high-caste[2] *okkas* in a village are usually festival-priests at the festival of their village-deity. This priesthood, like other offices, is attached to the *okka* and not to the individual members thereof. Both the men and the women of the priestly *okkas* have duties and roles at the festival. The men have such tasks as carrying the idol of the deity, bathing it, and holding

[1] It is possible, however, that in exceptional circumstances a Brahmin might make an offering of a fowl through a non-Brahmin friend. He might also take a wife, sister, or daughter, possessed by a ghost, to a non-Sanskritic temple for cure.

[2] As far as I know the Brahmin is nowhere festival-priest. He is either priest at the temple or performs only purificatory rites during the festival. In the latter case, there is another temple dedicated to a Sanskritic deity, where he performs all the priestly duties every day.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

793 swords before it while it is being carried in state, while the 796 women carry the sacred dish-lamp and the *pōḷiya* box.[1] Again, each festival-priest may be required to provide a certain votive offering like *kuduré* ('horse'), *chūḷé* ('prostitute'), *ettu pōraṭa* (bullock loaded with rice), and so on. The oracles (*tiruvaḷa*) also run traditionally in certain *okkas*.

796 621 The entire work of the festival is distributed among the various high-caste *okkas* in the village. (The Mēdas and Poleyas, though they may have important roles, are nowhere festival-priests.) The work is divided meticulously: for instance, at the Kētrappa festival, a man belonging to one *okka* carries Kētrappa's image up to the temple compound and then hands it over to another belonging to a different *okka* who carries it for about 12 feet and places it on a bench. Division of festival labour is thorough and minute, and formerly a duty was looked upon as a privilege.

796 773 According to the song sung at the festival of Kētrappa, the *okkas* which are festival-priests today all formed part of the original caravan which went to Malabar and brought the deity to Bēngūr. Incidents which form part of the festival are 'explained' by reference to this caravan: for instance, the Kētrappa image is brought from its normal resting-place which is the Taṭṭanḍa house on the seventeenth day of the festival and deposited in the Aréyanḍa house for three days, after which it is taken back to the Taṭṭanḍa house. This is explained in the song by reference to the fact that the deity stayed in the Aréyanḍa house while a temple was built for him when he first came to Bēngūr. The important fact for us is that the song refers to this incident. The song provides a charter and an explanation of the incidents taking place in the festival.

IV

796 621 The festival of Kundat Bhaḍrakāḷi of Kuklūr, near Vīrarājpēṭ in south Coorg, now briefly described, may be regarded as typical of the festivals of village-deities. These festivals last for several days, involve very elaborate and complicated ritual, and imply the co-operation of several castes, and frequently of two or three villages.

[1] The *pōḷiya* box is a box of plaited cane, containing an odd number of measures of rice, odd number of coconuts, plantains, jaggery cubes, and betel leaves and areca-nut. It is carried by a married woman on auspicious occasions such as marriage

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

On the ninth afternoon the villagers go in state to the Bhadrakāḷi temple, accompanied by the three 'horses'.[1] The latter run round the inner shrine thrice. After this is over, Coorg men dance the 'torch dance' (*boḷakāṭ*)—actually they hold in their hands swords (*kaḍatalés*) or *chauris* (yak-tail whisks). Four Coorg drummers stand in the centre of the circle formed by the dancers, beating their small drums. As they beat the drums they sing the Bhadrakāḷi song. The outer circle of dancers do not, however, sing this song, but a different one which consists mostly of the names of deities interspersed with short interjections such as '*ho!*', '*ha!*', and '*he!*': people dancing the torch dance always sing such a song.

After the dance is over, the Brahmin priests treat the Coorg devotees to coffee, and a dish made of parched rice mixed with jaggery and grated coconut. Coorgs sit on the steps all round the shrine and the Brahmins serve them, taking care, however, not to touch them. Only the priests may enter the kitchen or the inner shrine.[2]

The Poleyas who stand outside the temple compound then light reed torches in honour of one of *their* deities. They frequently shake the torches and this sends forth a shower of sparks. This is called *tūḍ nammé* (torch festival). They then let fly twenty-five chickens which perch on the roof of the temple compound. The upper-caste people who are inside the temple now climb up the roofs and catch the chickens, which belong to those who catch them.

The Poleya is normally the servant of the Coorg. He works for his master in the latter's field and house, and in return for this he is paid in paddy and straw annually. Usually the Poleya, like the Brahmin, is the receiver of goods from the Coorg.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi festival the live chickens offered by Poleyas ultimately reach their Coorg masters. It is like a gift by Poleyas as a caste to Coorgs as a caste, and such a gift emphasizes inter-caste solidarity. Caste has a natural tendency to stress

[1] Any other *okkas* which have vowed to make offerings of 'horses' also join the procession.

[2] The Brahmins usually receive material goods in exchange for the ritual services they perform. Every *okka* in the village annually gives the local Brahmins a certain amount of paddy and straw during harvest. This is in addition to payments for specific services. During the festival the Brahmin gives the members of the village some cooked food which has been earlier consecrated by being offered to the deity.

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

In Coorg, Shasta is referred to as Ayyappa, or Sārtāvu, and he inhabits the jungles in which he wanders at night with his favourite pack of dogs. At night, in the jungle, he can be heard whistling to his pack. Votive offerings of representations of dogs and bows and arrows are made to his shrines. Some jungles are reserved for Ayyappa exclusively, and nobody may hunt or cut down trees there. Coorgs do not hunt on Wednesdays and Saturdays because Ayyappa hunts on those days. Formerly, liquor and fowl were offered to him by Coorgs after a successful hunt. At some Ayyappa shrines non-vegetarian offerings are made, whereas at others only vegetarian offerings are made. Brahmins are usually priests at the latter shrines.

Coorgs are fond of hunting, and every ancestral house has a pack of dogs which accompany their master during hunting. Ayyappa is extremely popular with Coorgs as the deity presiding over hunting, and very many Coorgs are named after him. His Sanskritic ancestry is not, however, recalled frequently.

Another Sanskritic deity who has undergone modification in the process of becoming acceptable to his devotees is Subramaṇya, who is, in Sanskritic mythology, Skanda, the warrior-son of Shiva. But, as we have earlier mentioned, in Coorg and in the Tuḷu, Kannaḍa, and Telugu countries, Subramaṇya is identified with the cobra which is regarded by orthodox Hindus as a deity. Ant-hills inhabited by cobras are worshipped at Subramaṇya's festival.

The absorption of local cults, rites, and beliefs colours everywhere Sanskritic Hinduism, which varies, in certain particulars, from one local area to another. The initial synthesis usually makes easier the later complete absorption of the local phenomenon in Sanskritic Hinduism.

In this connexion it is instructive to consider the attitude of the Brahmin, the representative of Sanskritic Hinduism, to the village-deities. His attitude is not something fixed and unalterable. It varies from region to region, village to village, and, frequently enough, from deity to deity in the same village, but when we consider a number of instances his varying attitudes fall into a pattern.

It was remarked earlier that the Brahmin priest of the Kaḍupālappa (Krishṇa as churning buttermilk) temple does not have any duties at the Kētrappa temple. But such complete non-co-operation

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

with a village-deity (we are not thinking of deities of the Poleyas here) is comparatively rare.

At the Kundat Bhadrakāḷi shrine a Brahmin normally acts as priest, and offerings of fruit and flowers are the rule except on one day in the year when animals are sacrificed outside the Bhadrakāḷi shrine, when the Brahmin priest has left, locking the door of the shrine after him. The Brahmin re-enters the temple next morning only after the front of the shrine has been thoroughly cleaned. He subsequently performs two purificatory rites in order to restore the temple to its normal ritual status.

The Brahmin priest is more co-operative at the festival of the Bhagavati temple at Ārmēri. In addition to performing certain ritual at the festival, he acts as oracle, a role usually reserved in Coorg for a member of a non-Brahmin caste.

The Rāmēshwara temple at Irpu and the Tala Kāvēri shrine are instances of almost complete Sanskritization. They are among the strongholds of Sanskritic Hinduism in Coorg and act as centres for its spread.

It is not always the Brahmin priest who is the agent of Sanskritic Hinduism. In every part of the Kannaḍa country, and in Coorg, the Lingāyaṭ sect, consisting exclusively of non-Brahmins, have exercised in the past a Sanskritizing influence. Lingāyaṭ ritual is Sanskritic (though not Vēdic), and the Lingāyaṭ Rājas of Coorg have been responsible for the Sanskritization of the customs, manners, and rites of Coorgs. Customs like marking the forehead every morning with three stripes of sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), celebrating the festival of Shivarātri, and erecting tombstones, surmounted by the figure of the Nandi Bull, over the graves of important persons reveal Lingāyaṭ influence. Lingāyaṭism had its origin in the Kannaḍa country, and it was—and is—a predominantly Kannaḍa sect, and the Lingāyaṭs transmitted to Coorgs some purely Kannaḍa customs like Ugādi (lunar New Year).

As mentioned earlier, Lingāyaṭism made headway amongst Coorgs more easily because it was the religion of the rulers. Coorgs holding important posts in the service of the Rājas took over some of the customs and rites of their masters, and this had a chain reaction, which is natural in a highly stratified society.

The Brahmin too has been influenced by non-Sanskritic modes of worship, and impressed with the power of the village-deities. In south India it is common to find Brahmins making votive

1:Srinivas E-5 (1940-42)1952 AW5 Coorg AW5

offerings of flowers and fruit and, very rarely, through a non-Brahmin friend, of an animal to the village-deities like Māri during an epidemic of smallpox or plague or cholera. It is wrong to assume, as some do, that in the contact between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, Brahmins have always influenced non-Brahmins, while they themselves have remained uninfluenced.

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The presence, within Sanskritic Hinduism, of a vast and ever-growing mythology, the worship of trees, rivers, and mountains, and the association of deities and epic heroes with local spots everywhere in India, makes easy the absorption of non-Sanskritic cults and deities. The caste hierarchy plays no small part in the spread of Sanskritization: not only do outlying communities signalize their entry into the Hindu fold by becoming a caste, but the existence of a sharply structured hierarchy which also permits groups to move up the social ladder acts as a powerful inducement for the lower castes to borrow the customs and habits of the top-most castes. The adoption of vegetarianism, teetotalism, and Sanskritization enables a low caste to rise in status in course of time.

The pantheistic bias in Hinduism also contributes to the Sanskritization of the deities and beliefs of low castes and outlying communities. The doctrine that everything in the universe is animated by God, and that all the various deities are only forms assumed by the same Brahma, makes the process of absorption easier. The village-deity who wants the sacrifice of animals and toddy is also one of the myriad manifestations of the formless Brahma whom the philosopher contemplates. The gods of the lower castes are not denied, but affirmed, and affirmed in such a way that their subsequent Sanskritization is rendered easier.

Another point that needs to be remembered is that the presence of Sanskritized local cults and village-deities in Hinduism makes easier the further absorption of local phenomena. Sanskritic Hinduism may be thought of as consisting of several layers, and the similarity of the lower layers to local cults and village-deities everywhere enables the latter to be absorbed. Once inside Sanskritic Hinduism the local rites and beliefs undergo Sanskritization rapidly and in a thoroughgoing manner.

The spread of Sanskritization being a matter of spontaneous

[P. 45]

CHAPTER VIII

COORG (Contd.)

IN the absence of a male issue in a house, a daughter is retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised 858 857 595

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts, which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered into the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides there is sexual shyness, and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are respectively called bridesmaids and groomsmen. 585 [793]

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and personal rights. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon 174 726 595 [428]

[P 64]

CHAPTER XI

AMMA COORG

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[162] THE Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. They
[776] numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 females. Their common name is Amma Kodagas, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the
173 country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse that the generation of Coorgs should become less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk". So saying, she tried to escape and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed
[778] rapidly away. Hence the place where this occurred is called Balamuri (turn-
[788] ing to the right). A linga was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is
485 yearly visited in the month of *November* at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs,
174 but a few facts may be given as evidence that they are the remains of an
793 ancient priesthood.

101 The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great fes-
793 tivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the
[796] same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the

professed patronage of the Brahmans and that they gradually dropped into brahmanical habits of life and thought. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a tradition current among them that in former times one half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two gotras among them, the Baradwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra. They marry within the same gotra.

Marriage Customs and Ceremonies

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs, but the separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, uncle, and other close relations assemble, when coconuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are :—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. Nischithambulam.

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, and garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments, and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after 40 days that ganga puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Náráyana and the echo is taken up by succeeding caravans. Near the summit there is an overhanging rock, called Bíma-kallu, which forms a sheltering abode for some fakirs during the festive season. The source of the river is enclosed by a stone basin, over which a small shrine of granite slabs is built. From this reservoir the pure water percolates into a tank of about 30 feet square, which by an outlet keeps the water to a level of 2½ feet. On two sides there are rough stone terraces scooped out of the hill side and above the third terrace on a dip of the hill there is a small square temple dedicated to Ganapati with a few huts close by for the abode of the residing Brahmin-pújáris.

At the moment, fixed by the Astrologer, of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra, whether by day or by night, the pilgrim, who is anxious to experience the full power of the sin cleansing bath, must descend into the holy tank. With the approach of the hour an ever increasing multitude surrounds the tank, impatiently waiting for the propitious moment. Now the priest gives the sign and the living throng, old and young, men and women rush in wild confusion into the water, duck three times and drink as often of the water, and, on emerging, offer a small gift to the priests, who sit near the shrine, receive the money and pour some pure water over the devotee's head. Before leaving, most of the pilgrims fill a hollow reed (Wóte) with water from the sacred spring and carry it home for the benefit of their relatives, and for purifying their wells. The effectual bathing season lasts for a whole month but with decreasing virtue. From 8 to 15,000 pilgrims may annually visit Tala-Káveri, but the interest in the place seems to be on the decrease. The presiding Brahmins have secured some jungle for coffee cultivation in the neighbourhood of the temple, and the Coorgs complain, that the priests take greater care of their coffee gardens than of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

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their religious duties, and only lately some valuable portions of the Tala-Káveri shrine were stolen!

The Káveri-day is celebrated also in the Coorg houses by those who remain at home, and is considered as a high holiday.

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Before sunrise, the mistress of the house early leaves her bed, goes to the cooking-room, takes a brass-dish, throws into it a handful of rice, and having spread it over the whole plate, puts a common lamp, which has been in daily use, into the centre. The burning lamp is surrounded with flowers gathered from a garden or the jungle. To these a fresh, young cucumber is added. Then a red handkerchief is placed behind the lamp. Upon the handkerchief one jewel of gold or silver is laid. The mistress perhaps takes the necklace from her own person on the occasion, which is considered the luckiest choice. Then a good mat is spread on the ground, and a tripod, which [352] serves the Coorgs for a dinner-table, placed upon the mat. Upon the tripod the woman sets the brass-plate with the rice, lamp, cloth and jewel. This done, she proceeds to bake little [252] cakes from a dough of rice-flour and plantains, well kneaded together on the preceding night, upon a stone-mould well heated. Three of these little cakes are added to the contents of the plate. Then she calls the inmates of the house. They all rise instantly, go straight into the kitchen, and fold their hands before the tripod, as in adoration. One of the men takes three or five of the fresh cakes and carries them down to the rice-fields. There he puts the cakes upon one of the bamboo sticks, which have been placed in every field on the preceding day, crowned with a bundle of Keibala creepers. The field next to the house is chosen for this offering. When the cakes are duly laid upon the top of the creeper-crowned pole, the man gives three great shouts and returns to the house. It is now about five o'clock. (The cakes are afterwards gathered by the Holeyas, who live in the neighbour-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

c. The Bhagavati-feast.

Of the two lesser annual festivals one, the Bhagavati-feast, has been introduced by Tulu Brahmans, or, if it was originally a Coorg observance, has been thoroughly brahmanized.

It takes place during the two months preceding the monsoon. Different localities differ in the time of its celebration. Two or three villages have one Bhagavati temple in common, and support it jointly. These temples are in charge of Brahmans entirely. Tulu Brahmans hold the livings; with them some Padárthis, a lower class of Brahmans, who wear no holy string, are associated as musicians to Bhagavati. The whole establishment is under the management of some Tantri-Brahmans in the Tulu country, who come every eighth or tenth year, to consecrate idols and to collect money. On these occasions large sums are offered by the superstitious. The Coorgs have an extraordinary dread of the power of these men. They say, that if one of the Tantri-Brahmans be offended and curse a man, he will lose his sight or hearing or even his life. It is enough, they believe, for one of these masters of the black art, to say to a man: "do you not see?" or "do you not hear?" and the poor fellow is doomed to blindness or deafness, or even death. Strange! It would appear, that the common worship of the great gods of the country was less degrading to the mind, and engendered a more cheerful kind of superstition, than this wild sort of idolatry, which has enslaved the poor Coorgs. The Tantrics, on one of their visits, will gather some two or three hundred rupees from the money-loving Coorgs. Sometimes an idol of Bhagavati has lost its power, when they re-enliven it. Or the officiating Brahman, who has played the possessed on festival days, has died. The Tantri has to appoint his successor. These services are not performed gratuitously; the presiding Tantri receives every year one half of the profits of the establishment, through a curate whom he leaves in charge.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

796 793 787 Some Coorg also is chosen as a subject for possession by Bhagavati. He likewise, and his successors, must be instituted by the ruling Tantri. They are selected from a small number of candidates presented by the community connected with the temple. The Tantri takes one of the men, pronounces some mantra and puts holy ashes upon his face, when immediately the individual commences to shake and to dance and to speak as one possessed.

346 793 794 Every house of the villages, connected with a temple, must pay an assessment in rice every year to the Brahmans employed, and money must be offered by every family, from 3 as. to one rupee, on the last day of the annual festival.

796 793 The Bhagavati-feast lasts nine days. During the first six days, every morning and evening, the idol is carried three times round the temple in procession, while the Tantri-curate, who is the chief authority in the place, performs púja, strewing rice and minced leaves of Calyptanthes Caryophyllifolia, mixed together, on the stones placed towards the eight regions of the heavens, and mumbling his mantras. One of the Tulu Brahmans carries the idol on his head; he is accompanied by the Pújári and the other officers of the shrine, followed by the band of Padárthis, playing the drum, cymbal and gong, and preceded by the Coorg-man performing a frantic dance in the ecstasy of demoniac possession. Many people come on these occasions to put questions to Bhagavati in behalf of sick persons, or for the discovery of thieves, etc. which are duly answered by the Coorg spokesman of the goddess.

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796 786 [793] On the evening of the sixth day things take a more excited aspect. Now the Brahman idol-carrier also is seized with the strange inspiration. He dances and trembles, and answers questions by making signs only. On the same afternoon a crowd of Holeyas, who have finished the Pannangalamma-feast (a corresponding Holeya festival) come to the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

open space before the temple, many of them possessed by devils of their own, which belong to the host of Pannangalamma, all of them jumping and dancing and beating their drums and gongs in the most approved fashion. Every one of them, man, woman and child, carries a long dry bamboo-stick. These bamboos are piled up in front of the temple, like soldiers' muskets, and set fire to at night, when the Holeyas dance round the flames until the pile breaks and falls to the ground. (If the pile fall towards the east, it is considered a lucky omen.) While these things take place outside, the temple-yard resounds with the voices of Coorgs, singing hymns in honor of Bhagavati, and the wild notes of many drums, through which the shrill words of the demoniac Coorg now and then pierce—a dismal scene!

On the seventh day, after the morning circumambulation of the temple, votive offerings are brought by the villagers of the parish. In each village the people collect at the house of some one, who has vowed a bullock-load of rice or cocoanuts, and take their breakfast. After breakfast, the whole company proceeds with the offering to the temple, singing and making music. The gift having been presented to the priest, the party returns to the village, to carry another contribution to the temple in the same manner. Thus the forenoon is spent. Then the young men dance for some hours. Music heightens the joy of the entertainments, and all the rest of the community, women, girls, children and old men, sit round the temple-yard—admiring spectators. At four o'clock the idol is taken out and carried round the shrine, the whole assembly joining in the procession. The Brahman-carrier of Bhagavati is possessed by the goddess. He stretches out his hand during the strange dance, which he performs with the idol upon his head. Whoever can, puts some money into his open hand. He, conscious enough in this respect, casts every

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

527 On the following morn-
224 ing the youths assemble for a hunt in the forest, belonging to the village. Whatever game is brought down, is divided by the huntsmen in the following manner: the man who has killed the animal, receives a hind-quarter and the head, the rest belongs to the company. This day is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nádu, a repetition of the village-hunt, on a larger scale. The Keilnárta, to the taste of young Coorg, is the most glorious of all the festivals.

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5. RELIGIOUS OBSERVANCES AND POPULAR SUPERSTITION.

The previous description of familiar and popular Coorg life would be incomplete without an account of other *religious observances*, if such a name may be given to the lowest degree of superstitions, which take the place of the worship of God among this rude race.

a. The sanctuaries of a Coorg community.

Instead of a general description, a short sketch of the village "Arméri" in Beppunád, the centre of Coorg life, may serve as a specimen.

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197 Arméri numbers only 25 Coorg houses, but is richly provided with idol shrines. First a Bhagavati temple in charge of Brahmans. In connection with this kind of worship there is a Mahádéva temple, and two Lingas in the jungle, which receive regular púja. Also two sanctuaries of Ayappa (the Shani, Saturn Pán? of Hindu mythology) have Brahmans for priests. Ayappa (Lord) is quite naturalized among the Coorgs.
[776] He is the great forest-god, a mighty hunter, to whom models
[532] in clay of dogs, horses and tigers are offered in abundance.
[793] In these observances the whole community joins under the superintendence of Brahmans. There are besides six places
[782] in which Chámundi or Raktéshvari (names for Párvati, Shiva's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

wife) is worshipped once a year, when pigs are sacrificed.— This is, of course, an abomination to the Brahmans.

b. Ancestral and Demon worship.

The principal place in Coorg-idolatry is held by the worship of the dead. Every family offers a sacrifice to its departed ancestors once a year, during the two months preceding the monsoon. A fowl, generally a cock, is killed, upon a stone devoted to the Káranas, somewhere in the jungle-land belonging to the family estate. (Kárana is the name given to the heads of families whether living or dead.) Seven of the Arméri houses, however, have little temples where *Kóla* or *Bárani* is annually performed. Kóla is the name of a sacrifice connected with demoniacal dancing, Bárani, of a sacrifice to the dead without the dances. These temples consecrated to the worship of the dead are called *Keimada*. Mada is the Coorg word for Matha, a religious building. The meaning of the word "kei" may possibly stand for Kárana, or simply denote: near, at hand, private. The Pújáris (officiating priests) employed in these ceremonies are Malayálas long since naturalized in Coorg, Panika, Maleya, Banna men, subordinate to the Kanyas, the hereditary Malayálam astrologers of Coorg. At the Kólas they beat drums and sing verses in commemoration of the ancestors. Those who are to be possessed by the spirits, wear masks and buckle on swords. As they sing of the deceased father, or grandfather, or other ancestor, his spirit seizes them and they speak as his mouthpieces. To each spirit a sacrifice is offered, a cock and a bottle of spirits, which his representative drinks, thus fortifying himself for future exertion during the night. The ceremony begins after sunset, in the presence of the whole village-community, and is continued until morning. About seven or eight o'clock in the morning pigs are sacrificed. The head of one of the pigs belongs to the performers, the

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

769 796 782 rest is cooked in the house, to which the Keimada is attached, and is consumed by the whole community with a plentiful addition of liquor. At noon the ceremonies are completed. [793] When Bárani only is performed, one of the strange priests does the whole work, but in the Kólas several are engaged. 769 796 782 A peculiar kind of illumination is essential to both Kóla and Bárani. Some plantain trees are split into thin strips. These are placed on the ground in three or four layers, crossing at 393 right angles, and forming a kind of network. Twenty-four 824 or forty-eight or ninety-six such strips of split plantain-stems are used. Where they cross one another, spikes of a reed, called Wotté, are driven through them into the ground. At the upper end of these spikes, which are two or three feet high, pieces of cloth are fastened, twisted into wicks and well moistened with oil. When the whole net is thus arranged, two layers of strips are raised, one to near the top of the spikes, the other a foot lower. Between the crossings, plantain-leaf-pieces are placed, upon which quantities of rice, plain and fried, of arecanut, jaggery, etc. are put. When the ceremony begins, a few of the oiled wicks are lighted. At the pig-sacrifice all are kindled, and the whole square blazes up like a table of fire, without however consuming the offerings placed on the leaves, which are the perquisite of the performers.

769 782 Besides, every family has some spot on the estate, in a retired part of the jungle-land, where a sacrifice of a fowl is offered every year to the departed by the living members of the house. No strangers are permitted to attend on these occasions. A stone placed on a rough mound serves as altar.

769 [796] On the day of *Sivarâtri* a religious ceremony takes place in Mercara at the Rajahs' tombs, that of Dodda-Virájender being transformed into a temple, where the spirit of the hero is worshipped with the honors due to the saint or rather a god, for Virájender has been deified by the Linguites. On

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure alarming. According to Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the caldron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 battics of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

the occasion a large concourse of people, chiefly Sivácháries, collect round the tombs, to pay their respects; or, at any rate, to participate in the liberal charity, dispensed at the time from the Government Treasury.

The people of Coorg have also great faith in a certain *Kaliatanda Ponnappa* or simply *Kaliat-Achchappa*, the spirit of a Malayálam man, who came to Coorg, many generations ago, was naturalized, married a Coorg-woman, and established himself at Nálknád. He was a great magician, and long the dread of the Coorgs. At last he was shot near the Cutchéri of Nálknád taluq. Since his death his spirit has possessed men, who give themselves to the strange arts that he practised. A similar worship is still maintained in honor of Achanaik in Chickamundúru in Kiggatnád.

Higher even than Kaliat-Achchappa, in the estimation of all Coorg, stands a certain female devil, at Kutta, called *Kuttadamma*. Kutta lies at the borders of the Wynád. Kuttadamma has no temple. The sanctuary is under a tree in the forest. The Pújári is a young man, the only person left of the family, which has engaged in this worship. Large sums of money are annually sent thither by people from all parts of Coorg. Many vows are paid to Kuttadamma in behalf of sick people or of the dead. And whether a sick person recover or die, the sum vowed for his recovery must be paid; or woe to the living! Liberal presents are also given to the man in charge of Kuttadamma, to engage her services against enemies, who, they say, are distressed or destroyed altogether by the demon, in answer to the prayers of her priest.

Each Báne (parcel of grass or forest-ground) has a presiding divinity, to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If this sacrifice be not made, or not properly performed, the *Káddévaru* (the tending god, i. e. the god watching over the cattle) will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among the cattle will ensue.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kumbu* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift!

On the *Hattur kill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Betiednád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Betiednád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

as with the feast there is connected a cattle-fair and the sale of superior metal vessels and idols; *Baitur* in Malabar to which in January chiefly the people of Beppunád and Yedenalknád proceed, they also send rice to the temple; *Payavur* also in Malabar, and especially supported and in February visited by the Katiednád-Coorgs, who send from one to ten buttics of rice per house; *Nanchanagódu* in Mysore which comes off in December.

f. Dévastánas, Mattas and Musjids.

The Coorg Dévastánas or Pagodas are mostly of an insignificant character; none is distinguished for great antiquity or structural beauty; most of them are but rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove and not calling for any particular description. A passing notice may be, perhaps, bestowed on the *Omkaréswara-dévastána* at Mercara, which stands in a hollow just below the Superintendent's Court and is built in the same style as the Rajahs' tombs, but with a small tank in the temple yard. From the centre of the tank a pretty little pavilion rises, which is connected with the land by a balustrated passage. The priests or púját́ries of these places are chiefly Tulu, Havige and Karnátaka-Brahmins; the former are divided into 3 branches: the Kótu, Kandávara, and Shivalli-Brahmins, which latter are the most numerous in Coorg. The Havige-Brahmins are Smártaru, residing near Honore in North Canara whose native tongue is Canarese. They worship both Vishnu and Siva, and the marks on their foreheads are put horizontally. The Karnátaka-Brahmins are immigrants from Mysore.

There are altogether 863 pagodas or temples in Coorg and 57 Mattas or Jangams, of the total of which places 549 share a Government contribution of 13,800 Rupees annually in cash and 9,474 Rupees worth of remitted assessment from endowed landed property; 372 places only are maintained by

[Errata: This should read "Onkaréswara-dévastána". See corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 473 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

Masjids.—There are but 5 small Masjids in Coorg, erected by the Mussulmans residing here, whose number does not much exceed one thousand. They are mostly poor people and live chiefly in Mercara, Virájpet and Fraserpet. 728 795

g. The Amma-Codagas.

795 177

In connection with the preceding subjects, it is natural, to enquire into the condition of the indigenous priesthood. It is clear, that the present intermixture of Hinduism with the more simple religious practices of the Coorgs points back to a time, when the encroaching Brahmins had to encounter popular superstition, upheld by an indigenous priesthood, whose direct descendants the present "Amma-Codagas" seem to be. In language, manners and costume they are hardly to be distinguished from other Coorgs, but are less favoured in appearance; many of them wear the brahminical cord, and all abstain from animal food and fermented liquor. They [582] intermarry with their own people only, a custom which may perhaps hasten their gradual diminution and total extinction, as they constitute but a small portion of the whole population. There are altogether 42 Amma-Codaga houses with 281 inhabitants of whom 97 are men, 90 women and 94 children. [162] They live chiefly in Kiggatnád and Padinálknád, 21 families in the former and 16 in the latter taluq. Like the other [464] Coorgs they are agriculturists and only 3 are in Government service. Their name "Amma-Codaga" or Mother-Coorg i. e. Coorg belonging to Mother Kávéri denotes them as men devoted to Kávéri or as priests. With the rest of the Coorg [184] tribe they celebrate in the same manner the great Kávéri and Huttari festivals, but of course as priests performing pújas in their own houses, for they have nothing to do with the Kávéri temple. They have no sacred books or shastras, nor do they exercise any spiritual influence over the people. The history [793] of the old Coorg-priests is shrouded in obscurity. They seem [174]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

795 They seem
194 to have been of a rude character like the priests of ancient
793 Britain and Germany, untractable and disinclined to adopt
[177] foreign culture. But the subtilty of the Brahmins gradually instilled into their minds some priestly notions which made them aspire after superior sanctity by adopting the sacred cord and a brahminical diet. It is said, that Timmappeyah, a Havige-Brahmin, and brother-in-law of the late Rajah, who died in 1868, as Karnika or Treasurer, gained such an influence over the Amma-Codagas, that many of them resolved upon laying aside the Coorg costume and imitating the Brahmins in dress and diet. There are even men amongst the Coorgs who under brahminical influence strive after some sort of sanctity by abstaining from the use of liquors and meat diet and by advancing brahminical interests. Brahminism in Coorg, which found no favour with the Rajahs, appears to be in the ascendency under the liberal patronage of the British Government. If it were not for the rich stipends, drawn from Government by the brahminical institutions in Mercara and Táwunád, their present existence would be more than doubtful. Left to the support of the Coorgs alone, they would long ago have succumbed to starvation, for the essential Coorg customs and religious practices can have little in common with Brahminism. There are old Coorgs who never once went to the Tale-Kávéri játre or had Brahmins perform any ceremony for them in their houses. All their lifetime they could do very well without them. Now the Brahmins find their staunchest supporters chiefly in Kiggatnád taluq and generally amongst the middle-aged Coorgs, and amongst such families whose reception by and assimilation with the Coorg-clan dates back to but recent generations. With them Brahmins are in requisition on many occasions. At the birth
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[844] of a Coorg child, they ceremoniously purify the defiled house
[783] by sprinkling holy water within and without, for which they receive a gift in rice. At the Coorg wedding the Pújári of

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot pursuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pronounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been [788] erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Vírájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore, which eludes every historical investigation.

7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "the Coorgs shall." See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, p. 403 -- Analyst]

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

by Virájender Vodeyar in 1821. By their side is a smaller tomb over the remains of an honored Guru of the Rajahs, Rudrappa, which was built by Devan Ponappa in 1834. The Mausoleums are situated at the northern extremity of the Mercara Petta (Mahadévapet) and enclosed by a high embankment. They are square buildings much in the style of Mahomedan edifices, with a handsome dome in the centre and four minaret-like turrets at the corners surmounted by Basavas. On the top of the dome is a gilded ball with a weathercock above it, and all the window frames are of handsomely sculptured sienite blocks with solid brass bars. A flight of stone steps, flanked on the top by 2 well carved pillars with representations of Siva, leads to an open platform all round the building. The inside consists of a covered verandah round one centre room in which two slightly raised slabs in the shape of a cross covered over with white cloth and daily renewed flowers indicate the sepulchres. A lamp burns continually and a Lingaite Pújári is in daily attendance upon the deified Dodda-Virájender.

In *Mádapúr* or *Jambúr* 10 miles north-east of Mercara, there is the ancient cemetery of the Coorg Rajahs' family. It is prettily situated on the banks of the Mádapúr river, but has no claim to architectural merit. The building is surrounded by narrow out-houses which crowd too closely upon it. It is about 40 feet square and nearly the same height and stands on an elevated base. It consists of two stories, the bottom one inclosing the sepulchres in a central apartment; the one above is of the same size as the central apartment, leaving room for a passage and a low balustrade all round. The lower story is ornamented with a large figure of a Basava sculptured in sienite and similar images adorn the capital of four small pillars placed at the angles on the top of the building.

Near the Kávéri, at *Holesálhalli* there is the *tomb of*